

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 01015 01 OF 02 181908Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
/075 W

-----181914Z 001691 /40

O R 181720Z JUN 77
FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6295
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1015

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: WINDHOEK BRIEFINGS

REF: A) CAPE TOWN 0992, B) CAPE TOWN 0996

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE JOINT REPORT (SLIGHTLY REORGANIZED AND EDITED) OF THE AMERICAN, BRITISH AND GERMAN DCM'S ON THEIR JUNE 17 BRIEFING OF INTERESTED PARTIES IN WINDHOEK ON THE SECOND ROUND OF CAPE TOWN TALKS ON NAMIBIA.

2. ON 17 JUNE WE HELD MEETINGS WITH THE FOLLOWING GROUPS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 01015 01 OF 02 181908Z

IN WINDHORK: THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE, THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT, CHURCH LEADERS, THE FEDERAL PARTY, THE GERMAN INTERESTS GROUP, AND SWAPO. THE MEETINGS LASTED BETWEEN ONE AND A HALF AND THREE HOURS. IN ALL, 80 PEOPLE WERE BRIEFED.

3. ALL THE GROUPS, EXCEPT SWAPO, SHOWED INTEREST AND

SOME WERE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE. THEY MADE CRITICAL COMMENTS, BUT THESE WERE USUALLY GIVEN IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT WITH FOCUS TENDING TO BE ON PARTICULAR SELF-INTEREST.

4. THE SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES, HEADED BY TJONGARERO, CAME PREPARED WITH A POLEMICAL PAPER (SEPTTEL) WHICH DENOUNCED THE WESTERN INITIATIVE AND WHICH WAS ALREADY PRINTED DRAFTED FOR PUBLIC CIRCULATION. THEY REPRESENTED THE PAPER TO US AS AN AUTHORITY SWAPO POSITION AND SAID A COPY WAS BEING SENT TO THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL. DURING THE ENSUING DISCUSSION, DESPITE THE UNCOMPROMISING TENOR OF THE PAPER, THE ATTITUDE OF THE SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES WAS IN SOME RESPECTS NOT ENTIRELY INFLEXIBLE. THEY DID NOT REACT WHEN WE SIMPLY IGNORED THEIR PAPER. FOLLOWING THE MEETING, THEY HELD A PRE-ARRANGED PRESS CONFERENCE AT WHICH THEY ADHERED TO A RIGID HARD LINE.

5. USING THE AGREED TALKING POINTS, WE GAVE EACH GROUP IDENTICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE SECOND ROUND OF CAPE TOWN TALKS. THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS IN THE POSITION TAKEN BY EACH GROUP WERE THE FOLLOWING:

6. TURNHALLE:

(A) CONTINUED DISTRUST OF THE UN AND, THEREFORE, DOUBTS ABOUT THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE PANEL OF JURISTS.

(B) CONCERN THAT THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS WERE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 01015 01 OF 02 181908Z

DELIBERATELY SEEKING TO DELAY ELECTIONS.

(C) DOUBT THAT, AT THE END OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE ELECTORAL PROCESS, A TURNHALLE VICTORY WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED BY THE WEST.

(D) EXPECTATION THAT SWAPO WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN A PEACEFUL, FREE, AND FAIR ELECTION.

(E) A DESIRE FOR REASSURANCE THAT SWAPO, SHOULD IT PARTICIPATE, WOULD DO SO PEACEFULLY, ABANDON INTIMIDATION, AND ABIDE BY THE RESULTS.

(F) CONCERN OF THE TURNHALLE LEADERS ABOUT THE EFFECT ON THEIR OWN POLITICAL CAREERS OF THE DERAILMENT OF THE TURNHALLE BLUEPRINT.

(G) INSISTENCE THAT ETHNICITY MUST BE ACCOMMODATED TO PROTECT MINORITY RIGHTS.

(H) INSISTENCE ON THE RELEASE OF SWAPO'S DETAINEES IN TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA.

(I) CONVICTION THAT THE WESTERN POWERS WILL BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES TO BE EXPECTED IF THEIR INITIATIVE FAILS.

(J) CLOSE INTEREST IN HOW THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL,
THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, THE PANEL OF JURISTS,
AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WOULD FUNCTION.

7. NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT (WHICH PROVIDED WRITTEN
PROPOSALS AND COMMENTARY):

(A) REJECTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RIGHT TO APPOINT THE
ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL.

(B) DOUBTS ABOUT THE UN'S IMPARTIALITY.

(C) CONVICTION "THE ONLY SOLUTION" IS A CENTRAL
ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY AND CONSTITUENT BODY IN WHICH
ALL POLITICAL GROUPS WOULD HAVE EQUAL REPRESENTATION.

(D) INSISTENCE THAT THE FIVE AND THE UN SHOULD TREAT
THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT ON A PAR WITH THE TURNHALLE
GROUP AND SWAPO.

(E) CONCERN ABOUT THE INEQUALITY OF ACCESS BY THE
DIFFERENT POLITICAL GROUPS TO FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 CAPE T 01015 01 OF 02 181908Z

MEDIA. THE MAIN REFERENCE HERE WAS TO TURNHALLE ACCESS TO
PUBLIC FUNDS AND SABC.

8. CHURCH LEADERS (ANGLICAN, DUTCH REFORMED, CATHOLICA,
LUTHERAN):

(A) CONCERN OF DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH REPRESENTA-
TIVE FOR THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY
FORCES TO PRESERVE SECURITY.

(B) NEED FOR THE STRICTEST CONTROL OF SOUTH AFRICAN
TROOPS, WHOSE TREATMENT OF THE LOCAL POPULATION HAD
MADE THEM HATED AND FEARED, IF ELECTIONS ARE TO BE
FREE AND FAIR.

(C) INDIGNATION OVER BIAS OF SABC IN FAVOR OF TURNHALLE,
ITS DELIBERATE DISTORTIONS AND WITHHOLDING OF INFORMATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAPE T 01015 02 OF 02 181905Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
/075 W

-----181914Z 001657 /40

O R 181720Z JUN 77
FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6296
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 1015

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: WINDHOEK BRIEFINGS

9. THE FEDERAL PARTY:

(A) CONCERN ABOUT THE DEVISIVE INFLUENCE OF THE
PRESENT ETHNIC-BASED INSTITUTIONS.
(B) NEED TO "NEUTRALIZE" SABC.
(C) INDIGNATION AT THE ELECTORAL ADVANTAGE TURNHALLE
ENJOYS THROUGH ACCESS TO PUBLIC FUNDS AND MANIPULATION
BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SERVICE IN NAMIBIA.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAPE T 01015 02 OF 02 181905Z

(D) DESIRABILITY OF A MULTI-RACIAL ALLIANCE AS AN
ALTERNATIVE TO SWAPO.
(E) THE FEDERAL PARTY ALSO PRODUCED SOME INTERESTING
PROPOSALS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF ELECTIONS FOR THE
CONSTITUTENT ASSEMBLY AND WILL GIVE US A PAPER ON THE
SUBJECT.

10. THE GERMAN INTERESTS GROUP (WHICH PROVIDED WRITTEN
PROPOSALS):

(A) NEED FOR GUARANTEES AGAINST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION
AND COLLAPSE OF THE NAMIBIAN ECONOMY.
(B) IMPORTANCE OF PROVISIONS OF PROTECT MINORITY
RIGHTS.

(C) NEED FOR ARRANGEMENTS TO PROVIDE COMPENSATION IN THE EVENT OF EXPROPRIATION.

11. SWAPO:

(A) SWAPO WOULD FULLY SUPPORT THE WESTERN INITIATIVE IF IT WERE SCRUPULOUSLY IN ACCORD WITH RESOLUTION 385; IF IT DEPARTS IN ANY WAY FROM THE RESOLUTION, SWAPO WILL NOT PARTICIPATE.

(B) THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WOULD BE AUTOMATICALLY INTIMIDATING AND BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

(C) THE WEST CAN EXPECT NO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION WITH SWAPO UNTIL IT IS POSSIBLE TO ASSEMBLE THE ENTIRE SWAPO LEADERSHIP IN ONE PLACE.

(D) THE WESTERN PROPOSALS SHOULD NOW BE PUT UP TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL RATHER THAN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WHO CAN BE MANIPULATED AND IN ANY EVENT CANNOT HANDLE SUCH A MULTI-FACETED MATTER.

(E) IF THE PROCESS PROPOSED BY THE WESTERN FIVE IS TO PROCEED WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION, THERE IS A CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAPE T 01015 02 OF 02 181905Z

COMPLETE STANDOFF BETWEEN THE FIVE AND SWAPO.

(F) IF THE UN CAN ENSURE AGAINST ALL INTIMIDATION, SWAPO WILL BE PLEASED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS.

(G) IF AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORCE IS TO BE INTRODUCED, IT SHOULD BE MADE UP OF AFRICANS; WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN SUCH A FORCE WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE.

(H) IF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IS TO SUCCEED, IT SHOULD NOT BE RUSHED.

(I) SWAPO HAS EVERY RIGHT TO DECIDE THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA "THROUGH THE BARREL OF A GUN."BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, CONSTITUTION, INFORMATION EXCHANGE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 18-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977CAPET01015
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770218-1170
Format: TEL
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770643/aaaableg.tel
Line Count: 262
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b16f827a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 CAPE TOWN 992, 77 CAPE TOWN 996
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2105172
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: WINDHOEK BRIEFINGS
TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA, US, UK, GE, SWAPO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b16f827a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009